

Great Successes of the Cultural Revolution*

Pedro Pomar

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Note from Serve The People (Brazil): In our opinion, we hereby publish the most important work of the great communist leader Pedro Pomar, in which he absolutely advocates for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, and, more than anyone in his time in Brazil, comprehends the core of the struggle against revisionism with the objective of preventing the capitalist restoration that occurred in 1976.

Document written by Pedro Pomar, published in A Classe Operária,¹ the central organ of the PCdoB,² 1968.

¹RedLibrary: Translates to “The Working Class.”

²RedLibrary: Communist Party of Brazil.

Great Successes of the Cultural Revolution

The victories of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China provide valuable encouragement for the struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples for their independence, democracy, and socialism. They also represent a significant defeat for the global coalition of imperialism, reaction, and contemporary revisionism that opposes revolution.

In mobilizing masses of hundreds of millions, in an unprecedented movement, the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in less than two years, had already spread throughout all of China and thwarted the bourgeois revisionist plot aimed at the restoration of capitalism. Following the righteous guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong, the overwhelming majority of the proletariat, peasants, the People's Liberation Army, and cadres joined closely together, strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, aligned the political and ideological superstructure more closely with the socialist economic base, and further developed

production and scientific experimentation. The idea that every citizen should take an interest in the affairs of the state, and the campaign to combat selfishness and criticize revisionism, became concrete and took on a truly mass character. In conclusion, the effort to transform every institution, factory, school, or military unit into a center for the study and creative application of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong thought, continues with complete success, serving as the invincible banner guiding the Chinese people in the construction of socialism and support for world revolution.

In the face of this triumphant advance and feeling their long-cherished dream of converting China and the world into easy prey for their greed and dominance crumble, the imperialists and the despicable gang of reactionaries and revisionists never tire of launching the worst slanders to tarnish the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They are well aware, as sworn enemies of the people, of the significance of this event for the fate of socialism and progressive humanity.

Among the most cynical counterfeiterers of the Cultural Revolution are contemporary revisionists. It is understandable. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution, with its ideas and perspectives, with its forms and methods, sharpened all the disputed issues in the international communist movement and contributed to revealing the repugnant betrayal of the revisionists to the cause of the people's struggle against imperialism, especially North-American imperialism. It also helps to distinguish true from false Marxists-Leninists, to clarify revolutionary positions and opportunistic ones, and to unmask revisionist leaders, indicating to the masses their true revolutionary proletarian parties and leaders.

The revisionist Philistines, in their crusade against the Cultural Revolution, undoubtedly carry out various missions. The Soviet revisionists, for example, who are the leaders, appear as the most disgusting and hypocritical. The French revisionists pretend to have a certain objectivity, without hiding, however, their pedantry and refinement in deception. While the Brazilian revisionists, with-

out any imagination, servilely copy what is dictated to them by the ruling clique of the CPSU.³ However, as proof that revisionism is an international phenomenon and follows well-defined social causes, all revisionists share the same traits in their attacks on the Cultural Revolution: fear of the masses and hatred of the revolution, apostasy from Marxism-Leninism, and capitulation to imperialism. They cry out, therefore, in unison, that the Cultural Revolution is madness against humanism and culture, a terrorist and freedom-destroying action, a nationalist and bellicose manifestation, an expression of the cult of per, etc. But, like Pharisees, they make persistent appeals to the Chinese people, in the “hope” that they will return to the “correct path” through the hands of the revisionists. Or, perhaps, if these appeals fail, they will have to “reason with them” through atomic bombs, which they store for humanitarian purposes...

All this clamor, however, is in vain. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution has led the

³RedLibrary: Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Chinese Socialist Revolution to a deeper stage of its development. It sweeps away the internal revisionist clique, unleashes the energies of the revolutionary masses for even more spectacular achievements in its progressive march, and encourages more vigorous actions in the liberating struggle of all peoples. It is the inevitable result of the intensification of class struggle in China and throughout the world. Although it has its particularities, it constitutes an objective necessity to consolidate the socialist regime in any country. Therefore, it had to project itself internationally.

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution, given the proportions it assumed and its occurrence in a country as vast as China, could never be an arbitrary act of this or that personality, of this or that ruling group. There is no room for voluntarism or utopianism here. It is the revisionists who, by denying the class struggle under socialism, attribute supernatural powers to personalities and oppose the revolutionary action of the masses, thereby falling into voluntarism. When the revision-

ists raise such false accusations, what they are seeking is to defend their Chinese revisionist comrades.

It is entirely just that the Cultural Revolution rejects, through the freest and broadest criticism ever seen in any country, the bearers of bourgeois ideas and customs. As a real mass movement with defined ideological and political goals, the Cultural Revolution is being even better revealed in the revolutionary practice of the Chinese people. The most difficult and, at the same time, most essential mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat, after seizing power, cannot be limited to purely economic transformations. It must also be dedicated to achieving changes in the ideological domain, which do not confine themselves only to problems of literature, art, education, technology, and science. This is why Comrade Mao Zedong called the Cultural Revolution a great ideological revolution, one that touches the core of a person, their soul, and their beliefs. Therefore, it is also neither strange nor anti-Marxist that the Cultural Revolution puts into practice,

through the highest socialist cultural conception, measures to transform people in Chinese society in accordance with the economic, political, and social demands of the proletariat and socialism.

Is this not, by any chance, the role of socialist consciousness, of Marxist-Leninist theory? Is this not one of the goals of the Communist Party? The revisionists neither want nor can understand the fundamental theoretical question of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution: its inevitability under socialism to meet the demands of the economic base and accelerate the advancement of social productive forces. They are habitual falsifiers, and the truth is unbearable to them.

In the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the issue of power emerges as the essential problem. In the Chinese Revolution, for a long time, two lines, two roads regarding the construction of socialism had been confronting each other. Throughout the entire process of the Chinese Revolution, in all its phases, the struggle between these two lines became increasingly clear. One of them denies the

possibility of rapidly building socialism, citing the low level of productive forces and the technical-material backwardness of the country. Consequently, it advocates significant concessions to capitalist elements in the cities and the countryside and proposes that their interests should not be affected for a long period. It places great hope in foreign assistance and does not trust the efforts of the people themselves. It emphasizes material incentives and gives priority to the economy over politics. It underestimates the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the new relations of production, and the popular masses. It propagates the importance of education and the training of technical personnel detached from proletarian ideology. It promotes the diffusion of bourgeois culture and habits by all means. In short, it aims to lead the country back to capitalism, to the reestablishment of the bourgeoisie's power, although it swears loyalty to socialist proletarian principles and goals. In reality, it is a bourgeois, reactionary line. Its proponents, even before the victory of the revolution in 1949, ad-

vocated for the interests of the bourgeoisie within the Party. And, as life has shown, the foremost proponent of this line is none other than the individual holding the highest position in the state, now proclaimed as the Khrushchev of China.

The other line, formulated and implemented by Comrade Mao Zedong, has long been combating the well-known opportunist theory of “productive forces” and frames the issue of socialism in the following terms:

“If our country does not build up a socialist economy, what is it going to be? It will be like Yugoslavia, a capitalist country in fact. The proletarian dictatorship will be transformed into a bourgeois dictatorship, worse still, a reactionary and fascist dictatorship.”⁴

Among the characteristics of China, with hundreds of millions of inhabitants, Comrade

⁴RedLibrary: *Directives Regarding Cultural Revolution*, Mao Zedong, August 17th, 1967.

Mao Zedong used to say that what was shocking was poverty. However, bad things can turn into good things. For example, poverty drives change and revolution. And the more people, the more debates, the more ardor. Certainly, the building of socialism would require a long time, relying more on one's own efforts than external aid and adopting a hard-working and simple lifestyle. The major problem was the education of peasants. Without the socialization of agriculture, there would be no real and solid socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat, with the goal of strengthening the alliance with the peasants and developing the collectivization of the countryside, should further rely on the poor peasants, win over the middle peasants, and eliminate the economy of the rich peasants and the system of individual exploitation in rural areas. It would also be necessary to gradually transform industry, craftsmanship, and trade into integral parts of the socialist economy. This way, new and better conditions would be created for the liberation of productive forces and the increase in production. Tak-

ing into account that internally, the contradiction with the national bourgeoisie had not been eliminated, nor could it be in the first stage of the revolution, and that externally, the contradiction with North-American imperialism was sharpening, threatening China with oppression, it was necessary to wage a vigorous struggle not only on the economic front but mainly in the political and ideological fields. The dictatorship of the proletariat had to be revitalized and not weakened, both to advance the revolution and to enable China to fulfill its internationalist duties in defense of the communist movement and the cause of all oppressed peoples who, for the most part, lived and still live under the yoke of reaction and imperialism.

Driving the Chinese Revolution and striving for the construction of socialism in China, Comrade Mao Zedong studied the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union. After Yugoslavia, it was in the country of the October Revolution that the revisionists, disguised as Leninists, occupied positions in the

leadership of the state and the party, managed to usurp the power of the people and drag the glorious land of Lenin and Stalin back into capitalism. Comrade Mao Zedong, drawing lessons from this bitter experience, formulated a far-reaching thesis for the fate of socialism: classes and class struggle, under the conditions of socialism, continue to exist. Mao Zedong asserted that the question of who will prevail, whether socialism or capitalism, had not been definitively resolved, even in the countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat had triumphed. In China, he said,

“there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one. Moreover, their right-hand men in this struggle are the revisionists (...) They actually advocate not the socialist but the capitalist line.”⁵

⁵RedLibrary: *Quotations from Chairman Mao Ze-*

Comrade Mao Zedong demonstrated that the class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation are the three major revolutionary movements for the construction of a socialist country. Through these movements, communists will prevent bureaucratism, eliminate revisionism and dogmatism, and ensure the unity of the masses around the dictatorship of the proletariat. If they act differently, that is, if they fail to mobilize the masses in the indicated direction and lose vigilance, allowing the enemy to infiltrate the ranks of the Party, communists will be unable to prevent a counter-revolution from occurring in a few years, causing the state to change its course and the Party to become revisionist or even fascist.

The proletarian, revolutionary line under the wise leadership of Mao Zedong was inflicting heavy defeats on the bourgeois, opportunist line. China was advancing with increasingly firm steps and impressive rhythms on the path of socialist transformations to

dong, 1966, Chapter 2: Classes and Class Struggle.

overcome its millennia-old backwardness, eliminate the stains of foreign oppression, and achieve the level of a true socialist culture. It achieved enormous success in the fields of the economy, science, technology, and national defense, which were rapidly modernizing. Driven by the new socialist relations of production, the masses demonstrated immense capacity for sacrifice and fervent patriotism and made advances that serve as examples for all peoples still suffering from the exploitation and oppression of imperialism and capitalism.

How can we explain, then, how the bourgeois representatives could not only survive but also operate within the Party and the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China? It's because class enemies never resign themselves to defeat. After each political battle, they sought to camouflage themselves. They adopted a two-faced tactic: to publicly engage in self-criticism. They presented themselves as fervent supporters of Mao Zedong thought and the proletarian line, but secretly acted against his guidance. In this way, they managed to deceive the Party

and the masses. However, with each new twist in the revolutionary process, they would once again attack the Party's line and its proletarian leadership.

As it became evident through the experience of revisionist countries, the formation and activity of a bourgeois staff within the workers' party is perfectly possible as long as there are classes and class struggle. This is the greatest danger that the Party, as well as the dictatorship of the proletariat, faces. The crux of the matter is to know how to destroy it, a challenging task because the enemy seeks to disguise itself under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, swearing the utmost devotion to its principles.

The method that has always been employed to cleanse the ranks of the Party from such undesirable company is that of periodic purges. Lenin and Stalin taught that it is impossible to overcome opportunism within the Party solely through ideological struggle. In the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin warned that without maintaining the ideological purity of the Party, the

socialist system could not survive. Therefore, he insisted that, with the support of the masses, periodic purification of the Party should be carried out.

One of the great teachings of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution is that it constituted the best way found by the proletarian leadership, led by Comrade Mao Zedong, to eliminate the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had infiltrated the Party, the bourgeois leadership. Even though the revisionists were in control of the Party and the State, as the class struggle intensified and due to its own dynamics, they were forced to reveal themselves. It was undoubtedly difficult, but they were finally compelled to do so. This happened when the socialist education movement, under the auspices of Comrade Mao Zedong, in 1962, turned its focus against the bourgeois elements infiltrated in the Party. Faced with the imminent prospect of losing their positions, the Chinese revisionists decided to put up a desperate resistance under the direction of the Khrushchev of China.

The more pressing the task of cleansing in

the educational, literary, and artistic sphere to align the political and ideological superstructure with the socialist economic base, and the greater the advancement, the more noticeable was the opposition of the entrenched elements in these sectors and those who supported them at the top of the Party. It was an opposition that had been active for some time, subtly spreading its poison to prepare the ground and gain public opinion against the proletarian line and its representatives. Their harmful criticisms appeared as advice for prudence and common sense. They seized on all temporary difficulties to reproach the movements of the masses and demand modifications in the Party's general line and brakes on the Socialist Revolution. They had even gone so far as to systematize an entire bourgeois, class-based line opposed to the socialist line and had organized a conspiracy to seize power at the opportune moment.

With his brilliant vision as a revolutionary, Comrade Mao Zedong understood the need to mobilize the vast masses in defense of proletarian power and to bombard the bourgeois

headquarters that had entrenched themselves within the Party, fully exposing them. He personally sounded the alarm and engaged in the struggle against the bourgeois revisionists.

The Cultural Revolution was, therefore, the result of an objective process of intensifying class struggle, in which the lines that initially seemed to revolve around educational, literary, and artistic issues actually expressed the struggle for power between the two leading factions within the Party: the proletarian faction, led by Comrade Mao Zedong, and the bourgeois faction, led by the Khrushchev of China.

Therefore, the *Circular of the Central Committee of the CP of China*,⁶ dated May 16, 1966, regarding the “Peng Zhen Outline Report,” characterized the anti-party and anti-socialist group as follows:

“Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army,

⁶RedLibrary: CP of China stands for Communist Party of China.

and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. (...) persons like Khrushchev, for example, who are still nestling beside us.”

The situation and the reference were clear. When the flames of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution began to crackle among the youth in schools and among the masses through dazibaos⁷ and debates, the main enemies of the people emerged from their hiding places to attack the burgeoning movement vigorously. Using the positions they held, they gathered all the forces at their disposal and launched a fierce, bloody repression that only revisionists and fascists in power are capable of.

So, when we hear the revisionist minions of liberalism and the bourgeoisie accusing the Chinese revolutionary masses of employing

⁷RedLibrary: Also known as “Big-character posters.”

terrorism, it is not so difficult to discover that their real aim is to conceal their own crimes and justify them. The “socialism with freedom” that the revisionists now preach does not mean that the people should have the right to free expression or the right to fight in their own way against the old exploiting classes. They want to suppress this freedom by all means, with iron and fire. If any Soviet worker or a worker from another revisionist country speaks out against the treachery and abuses of the ruling clique or tries to understand the views of true Marxist-Leninists, the revisionist thugs will put their concept of freedom to the test. They will be imprisoned or confined to a mental hospital.

The truth is that the Cultural Revolution was on the brink of being strangled by the punitive and terrorist measures of the group led by the Khrushchev of China. However, once again, the decisive role of the proletarian vanguard, led by Comrade Mao Zedong, was revealed. The historic plenary session of the Central Committee of the CP of China in August 1966, which approved the decision

on the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, supported the masses and revolutionary cadres in their rebellion and guided them to boldly engage in criticism, struggle, and the rejection of all elements within state institutions, culture, and the Party who followed the capitalist path and opposed cultural transformations and proletarian policies. It was necessary to support the left, win over the center, fight and isolate the right.

Encouraged by this famous Resolution, the masses and revolutionary cadres redoubled their enthusiasm in their actions and fearlessly broke free from the shackles of bourgeois revisionist reaction. As authentic soldiers of Mao Zedong thought, they launched assaults on the strongholds of the bourgeoisie, exposing their flaws and the conspiracy they were plotting against the people and socialism.

Thus, masterfully outlined in both theoretical and political terms by Comrade Mao Zedong, and personally directed by him and his proletarian leadership, the Cultural Revolution would reveal its full scope and fulfill

its objectives in its own course, overcoming obstacles along the way. The masses were warned that the enemy would put up stubborn resistance, that the battles would be tough and protracted, and that there would be advances and retreats. The only tried and true method was to trust the masses, respect their initiative, and mobilize them fearlessly so they could liberate themselves. How? By engaging in extensive debates, elucidating the raised issues, revealing positions, and learning to distinguish the contradictions within the people from those existing between the people and their enemies.

Many new things emerged in the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, as the August 1966 Resolution of the Central Committee of the CP of China said. Groups, committees, and congresses of proletarian rebels and revolutionaries were created. The marvelous Red Guard erupted, driving away ghosts and monsters, causing panic among the enemies, but filling with joy all sincere supporters of socialism. In a short time, it mobilized and united millions of young people to defend proletar-

ian ideas and Mao Zedong thought and to carry forward the Socialist Revolution.

However, it was the working class that, after mobilizing, became the guiding force of the Cultural Revolution and imparted its style to the massive revolutionary movement that shook China and the world. In January 1967, the well-known “Shanghai Storm”⁸ erupted, giving birth to the first Revolutionary Committee and placing power directly in the hands of the masses and their rebellious organizations that emerged from the fire of the Cultural Revolution. It was a demonstration that the struggle for power in China had entered a new phase. The news of this event sparked immense enthusiasm, and the idea of organizing Revolutionary Committees through an alliance of revolutionary mass organizations, the People’s Liberation Army, and revolutionary cadres soon emerged. Thus, the Triple Alliance emerged as a new political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the conditions of socialism. At its foundation are the revolutionary mass organiza-

⁸RedLibrary: Also known as the “January Storm.”

tions. Its main support is the People's Liberation Army. And its core is composed of revolutionary cadres. All of them enjoy the broadest trust of the masses.

With the Triple Alliance, the new proletarian power is closer to the people, more united with them than ever. Revolutionary organizations, genuine representatives of workers, peasants, and intellectuals, from the largest and humblest masses, elect their most loyal members to participate in the Revolutionary Committees. The revolutionary cadre and the People's Liberation Army proceed in the same way. It is a deception by the enemies of the Cultural Revolution, particularly the revisionists, to qualify the participation of the People's Liberation Army alongside the revolutionary movement of the masses as an anti-party maneuver or label it as militarism. There has never been an army as beloved and connected to the people as the People's Liberation Army of China. Comprised of workers, it is dedicated to serving the people and defending them from all their internal and external enemies. It does not play the role

of oppressing workers and peasants like the armies of the bourgeoisie and landlords. An authentic democratic institution, the People's Liberation Army works to sustain itself and collaborates in production and scientific experimentation. Its officers do not enjoy privileges. No minority or group can use it to satisfy their ambitions for power. Therefore, it supports the revolutionary masses and is a pillar of the Triple Alliance.

The formation of this Alliance and its Revolutionary Committees allowed the vast majority to remove from power the small group of individuals who considered themselves superior and privileged simply because they held the honorable title of Party members. These individuals conspired to restore the power of the bourgeoisie and reinstate capitalism in the country. And when the Cultural Revolution erupted, they did everything in their power to suppress it, resorting to the most ferocious methods of repression and adopting incredible means to undermine and divide the struggles of the masses. After being elected, the Revolutionary Committees take on the

tasks of political, economic, and administrative responsibilities. Their main mission is to carry out the revolution and promote production.

The Triple Alliance, as a new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, represents a significant international achievement. As is known, the issue of state power in the dictatorship of the proletariat was considered one of the most important, if not the most important, in Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. In its grand battles against the bourgeoisie, the global proletariat had the enduring experience of the Paris Commune, a form of government that, for the first time in history, allowed for the direct and decisive participation of the masses in power. It combined legislative and executive functions and made the direction of the state accessible to even the simplest workers. As a result of the experience of the Paris Commune, the doctrine of the proletariat was enriched with the lesson that the state machinery must be destroyed, along with all its appendages, and in its place, a new one should be erected in

service of the proletarian dictatorship. The theoretical question of not only seizing power but also primarily of maintaining and consolidating it came to the forefront.

Nearly half a century after the Paris Commune, the October Revolution triumphed, with the Russian proletariat establishing Soviet Power, a continuation of the Commune, an advanced form of democratic state institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat capable of uniting the more backward and dispersed working and exploited masses around it and ensuring the transition to socialism.

The Soviet Power, as an organ of power for the vast majority of formerly oppressed masses against the oppressing minority and as a revolutionary instrument to overcome the resistance of its enemies, fulfilled its role for a long period. However, due to the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists, Soviet Power lost its class content and caused the bourgeois dictatorship to degenerate. The historic initiative of the Chinese proletariat and masses fills the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of the world with justified ju-

bilation. The Cultural Revolution, through the Triple Alliance, forged a state form of power in which the masses directly exercise their dictatorship against the resistance of the enemies and can, through the use of effective democratic rights, rise to the status of active and conscious builders of their own history.

All of this proves that the revolutionary people of China, with proletarian ideas and weapons, are diligently applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. They are breaking radically with traditional ideas after having already broken radically with traditional forms of ownership. This cleansing work to rid the miasma of the old society in order to purify the atmosphere of the new society, although not easy, is vital for the cause of socialism and communism.

The imputation by revisionists that the Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in conflict with Marxist-Leninist culture and humanism is utter hypocrisy and concealed advocacy for reactionary humanism and the decadent culture of the bourgeoisie. The dictatorship of

the proletariat would lose its reason for existence if it ceased to deprive some bourgeois intellectuals of the freedom to poison youth with ideas of individualism, exploitation of man by man, imperialist war, and the fallacious equality between the rich and the poor.

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution aims to lead Chinese society to consolidate the socialist regime and prepare for the advent of communism. To achieve these goals, it is based on the knowledge accumulated by humanity throughout its history and is guided by Mao Zedong thought, which represents the current synthesis of this knowledge. Therefore, it reflects the highest expression of culture, economics, and politics in service of the working masses. Technology and science, art and literature will not remain above or on the sidelines of the classes but will contribute to the elimination of classes and the construction of a classless society, communism.

In China, during the Cultural Revolution, a new man is formed, free from selfishness and dedicated to the collective well-being. The reactionary humanitarist concept of the bour-

geoisie and revisionists is false. Man will never be able to free himself from the alienating forces that bind him in capitalist society, nor will he be able to consciously determine his own destiny unless the vast working masses, the real creators of history, achieve their emancipation through the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx explained that human nature is inseparable from social relations. He added that humanity will only make the leap from the realm of necessity to that of freedom when a communist society is established. Or, as Comrade Mao Zedong predicts:

“The time of communism will come in the world, a time when humanity will transform itself and the world consciously.”

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution demonstrated the worldwide historical significance of Mao Zedong thought, as the Marxism-Leninism of our time. The Chinese people, armed with Mao Zedong thought, will achieve all their noble goals.

It was Comrade Mao Zedong who, combin-

ing a long history of revolutionary practice with an extraordinary capacity for abstraction and generalization, deepened Marxism-Leninism during the period when socialism inevitably marches toward total triumph and imperialism is heading for definitive bankruptcy. He developed materialist dialectics, advocating the monist theory of materialism and asserting that the law of contradictions is the fundamental principle of the dialectical method. Creatively interpreting Lenin's discovery of the law of uneven development of capitalism, he showed revolutionaries in countries subjugated by imperialists the possibility of achieving victory through revolutionary people's war based in the countryside. He also clarified, in an accessible way, the issue of the interpenetration between the superstructure and the economic base and contributed to exposing the revisionist theory of material incentives in building socialism. He demonstrated that material incentives correspond to bourgeois policy because there is no pure economy separate from or above politics. Building on Lenin's idea that politics is concen-

trated economics, Comrade Mao Zedong explained that in any social process, politics takes precedence and is always related to the interests of this or that class. This means that either bourgeois politics predominates or proletarian politics does; the capitalist path or the socialist path prevails. There is no middle ground.

Mao Zedong thought reestablished a brilliant mind and enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory of the existence of classes and class struggle under socialism. It indicated that the understanding of classes solely from an economic perspective was not sufficient; it was necessary to consider them from a political and ideological standpoint as well. Furthermore, it emphasized that one should not interpret any of the forms of class struggle in isolation from the others. Therefore, the economic elimination of classes must be complemented by the political and ideological elimination, which is the decisive factor.

Due to all these circumstances, the China of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Mao Zedong became the center of the world

revolution and the most powerful bastion in the struggle against imperialism. It is the socialist nation that, in the face of the North-American aggressor, pursues a policy that considers the interests of the vast majority of humanity. It does not fear their threats and, at the same time, unwaveringly supports the struggle of peoples for their national independence, for popular democracy, and socialism. This is evident in the selfless assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people and the refusal to engage in any dealings with the Soviet revisionists who scheme in countless ways to break the impressive and victorious resistance of Vietnam to the North-American invasion.

The cultural revolution strengthens the internationalist awareness of the Chinese people in the fight against North-American imperialism, the greatest enemy of humanity, and in the denunciation of Soviet revisionism. From China comes today a strong call for unity and the fearless and daring struggle of the peoples against the holy alliance of imperialism, reaction, and revisionism. The

Chinese nation is preparing to face the attack of this holy alliance at any moment.

Under the wise and proven leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, workers and people will unite more solidly and achieve victory.

The Brazilian communists, who enthusiastically received the great successes of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, seek to study its teachings and promote its experiences. At the same time, they raise the red flag of Mao Zedong thought ever higher, which reveals to our people the path of revolution and revolutionary liberation warfare.